

## Message Text

PAGE 01 USUN N 04875 01 OF 02 182053Z

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ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1229

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4875

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR KS KN UN CH

SUBJECT: KOREAN IN 28TH GA: DEVELOPMENTS NOVEMBER 17

REF: (A) USUN 4873, (B) USUN 4874

SUMMARY: IN FIRST STAGE OF NEGOTIATION OF CONSENSUS TEXT BETWEEN TWO SIDES OUTSIDE OF US-PRC CHANNEL, NETHERLANDS AND ALGERIAN AMBASSADORS AGREED ON MOST INGREDIENTS FOR STATEMENT TO BE READ BY FIRST COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN. NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR DID NOT REPEAT NOT PRESENT WRITTEN TEXT TO ALGERIAN AT NOON MEETING NOVEMBER 17 BECAUSE OF CHINESE REQUEST JUST PRIOR TO MEETING THAT SCENARIO BE AMENDED. ALGERIAN COMMITTED SELF TO PURSUE ASAP WITH NORTH KOREANS; TO WORK FOR AGREEMENT AMONG DPRK COSPONSORS AND TO RESUME DISCUSSION MONDAY. HE HINTED HE MIGHT PRESS FOR INCLUSION OF ELEMENTS NOT IN US-PRC TEXT AND DATE FOR FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT BY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LEFT OPEN. WE FEEL IMPLICATIONS OF MEETING ARE VERY POSITIVE, BUT SUCCESS NOT YET CERTAIN.

FULL COSPONSORS MEETING PLANNED FOR MORNING NOVEMBER 20 (AT AUSTRALIAN MISSION), AGENDA TO DEPEND ON DEVELOPMENTS BY THAT TIME. ROK AND KEY COSPONSORS AGREE THAT UNCERTAINTY OF CONSENSUS OUTCOME MAKES CONTINUED CONTINGENCY PLANNING NECESSARY. END SUMMARY.

1. CHOU NAN TELEPHONED MORNING NOVEMBER 17 TO ASK CHANGE IN SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 04875 01 OF 02 182053Z

SCENARIO OUTLINED PREVIOUS EVENING (REFTEL A). CHOU SAID CHINESE "NOW THINK IT MORE APPROPRIATE" THAT AMBASSADOR FACK SHOULD NOT PRESENT CONSENSUS TEXT TO AMBASSADOR RAHAL AT NOON MEETING. IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE, HE ADVISED, FOR FACK TO SUGGEST POSSIBLE

TEXT ORALLY IN GENERAL TERMS FOR ALGERIAN TO CONSIDER AND TO DISCUSS WITH NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION. WHILE FACK SHOULD NOT SHOW TEXT, HE SHOULD BE CERTAIN TO MENTION EACH PRINCIPAL INGREDIENT. CHOU LEFT TO OUR DISCRETION POSSIBLE MENTION OF PEACE AND SECURITY INGREDIENT WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN COVERED IN THROW-AWAY PARAGRAPH DISCUSSED PREVIOUS EVENING. IMPORTANT THING, CHOU SAID, WOULD BE THAT FACK MAKE CLEAR TO RAHAL MAJOR POINTS IN TEXT AND STEER RAHAL TO DPRK. CHANGED SCENARIO, CHOU ACKNOWLEDGED, MEANT SLIGHT DELAY IN FINAL ACTION BUT BOTH CHINESE AND US SIDE MUST BE PATIENT, AWAITING DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN ALGERIANS AND NORTH KOREANS.

2. CHOU AGAIN EMPHASIZED IN THIS CALL IMPORTANCE OF PREPARING FACK TO FIELD ALGERIANS'S PROBING QUESTIONS ON US-PRC ROLE.

3. CHOU'S CALL CAME WHILE STAFFS OF KEY COSPONSORS WERE MEETING AT NETHERLANDS MISSION TO HEAR OUR REPORT OF PREVIOUS NIGHTS EVENTS AND TO CONTINUE CONTINGENCY PLANNING. WORD THAT CHINESE HAD REVERTED TO SLOWER SCENARIO WITH NO TEXT PROMPTED RENEWED ANXIETY THAT CHINESE EXPERIENCING FURTHER TROUBLE.

4. JUST PRIOR TO FACKS MEETING WITH ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR RAHAL, WE BRIEFED FACK, INCLUDING (PURSUANT DISCUSSION WITH CHOU) QUESTION AND ANSWER DRILL TO PREPARE FACK TO HANDLE ANY ALGERIAN PROBES ON US-PRC AND PRC- DPRK INVOLVEMENT. WE ALSO TOOK SPECIAL PAINS WITH FACK TO ENSURE THAT ALGERIAN, IF HE HAD HEARD FROM SYRIAN AMBASSADOR SINCE LATTER'S NOVEMBER 16 MEETING WITH DUTCH DEPUTY VAN DER KLAUW, COULD NOT TURN UP DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THAT NETHERLAND'S AMBASSADOR AND DEPUTY RESPECTIVELY HAD TOLD SYRIAN AND ALGERIAN AMBASSADORS, DISCREPANCIES THAT MIGHT FEED SUSPICION THAT PRC BEHIND EFFORT.

5. FACK CALLED ON RAHAL AT NOON AS SCHEDULED. IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER AND VAN DER KLAUW BRIEFED US ON MEETING AT ALGERIAN MISSION, IN WHICH ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL ALSO HAD PARTICIPATED.

6. (BEGIN DUTCH REPORT OF FACK-RAHAL CONVERSATION )  
FACK, IN SUMMARY PRESENTATION US, CHARACTERIZED MEETING AS GENERALLY "VERY ENCOURAGING." VAN DER KLAUW PROVIDED FOLLOW-  
SECRET

PAGE 03 USUN N 04875 01 OF 02 182053Z

ING ORAL ENGLISH SUMMARY FROM NOTES MADE IN DUTCH DURING MEETING, WHICH CONDUCTED IN FRENCH.

7. (BEGIN DUTCH REPORT OF FACK-RAHAL CONVERSATION)  
AFTER OPENING AMENITIES, IN WHICH RAHAL REFLECTED SAME WARMTH WITH WHICH HE HAD GREETED FACK'S REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT, FACK BEGAN PRESENTATION BY NOTING THAT RAHAL HAD OPENED FIRST COMMITTEE DEBATE BY INTRODUCING DPRK RESOLUTION IN WHAT FACK SAID SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN CONSILIATORY LANGUAGE. FACK ALSO DREW TO RAHAL'S ATTENTION THAT FACK HAD INTRODUCED ROK RESOLUTION IN STATEMENT SAME DAY AND THAT HE HAD ALSO SPOKEN IN CON-  
CILIATORY TERMS. FACK HANDED TEXT OF HIS STATEMENT TO RAHAL, WHO SAID HE ALREADY HAD STUDIED IT VERY CAREFULLY. FACK RECALLED HIS EARLIER DISCUSSION WITH RAHAL WHICH HAD LET TO AGREE-

MENT ON GENERAL COMMITTEE HANDLING OF INSCRIPTION QUESTION, SUGGESTING POSSIBILITY THAT TWO AMBASSADORS COOPERATE ALSO ON SUBSTANCE.

8. FACK TOLD RAHAL THAT WHILE TWO OPPOSING RESOLUTIONS HAD MAY AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT, ROK AND DPRK, AS WELL AS UN MEMBERSHIP IN GENERAL, SEEMED TO HOLD COMMON VIEW ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT POINTS. FACK SAID DEPUTY VAN DE KLAUW HAD PREVIOUS DAY DISCUSSED COMPROMISE POSSIBILITY WITH SYRIAN AMBASSADOR AND HAD FOUND SYRIA RECEPTIVE. HE SAID ALSO HE HAD HEARD MANY RUMORS THAT OTHERS, SUCH AS SWEDEN AND IVORY COAST, WERE WORKING ON THIRD DRAFT RESOLUTION.

9. FACK TOLD RAHAL THAT COMMON ELEMENTS ON WHICH ALL COULD AGREED MIGHT BE IDENTIFIED: UNCURK HAD RECOMMENDED ITS OWN DISSOLUTION AND NO UN MEMBER SEEMED TO OPPOSE; SIMILARLY, ROK-DPRK DIALOGUE APPLAUDED BY ALL MEMBERS; JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JULY 4, INCLUDING ITS THREE PRINCIPLES, WAS INGREDIENT ON WHICH ALL COULD AGREE. (IN EXCHANGE ON THIS POINT, RAHAL RECALLED VERBATIM WORDING ON THREE PRINCIPLES REFLECTED IN RESOLUTION 644.) FACK ALSO MENTIONED, LESS POSITIVELY AND NOT SPECIFICALLY AS FOURTH ELEMENT, POSSIBILITY THAT MUTUALLY-AGREED TEXT MIGHT INCLUDE LANGUAGE ON UN CHARTER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. FACK SUGGESTED THAT SINCE THERE WERE THUS THREE INGREDIENTS PRESUMABLY ACCEPTABLE TO ALL, PERHAPS SOME WORDING COULD BE DEVELOPED AND TWO SIDES MIGHT REACH CONSENSUS. (FACK DID NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTION THAT TWO RESOLUTIONS 644 -645 WOULD NOT BE VOTED UPON, BUT THIS WAS IMPLICIT IN FOREGOING AND SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION.

SECRET

PAGE 04 USUN N 04875 01 OF 02 182053Z

10. RAHAL, AFTER THANKING FACK IN VERY FRIENDLY MANNER FOR LATTER'S PRESENTATION, SAID THAT ALGERIA, LIKE NETHERLANDS, DID NOT WANT CONFRONTATION ON KOREA IN FIRST COMMITTEE. HE MADE SUCH A STATEMENT TWICE AGAIN, EMPHASIZING THAT CONFRONTATION "GAINS NOTHING" AND "SERVES NO PURPOSE." NEVERTHELESS, RAHAL CONTINUED, STATEMENTS MADE IN FIRST COMMITTEE HAD TO BE FIRM AND CLEAR ON ALL ESSENTIAL POINTS. THUS FACK MUST EXCUSE RAHAL FOR BEING "RUDE" IN DEBATE. RAHAL EMPHATICALLY SAID HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO WORK WITH FACK TO FIND COMMON POSITION IF ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS COULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

11. RAHAL TOLD FACK THAT ON DPRK SIDE THERE HAD BEEN NEARLY NO GROUP DISCUSSION WHATSOEVER AMONG COSPONSORS ABOUT ANY ASPECT OF PRO-DPRK EFFORT. RAHAL POINTED OUT THAT HEAD OF NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION HAD ARRIVED ONLY VERY LATE BUT ADDED THAT RAHAL HAD CONTACTED HIM IMMEDIATELY AFTER ARRIVAL.

12. RAHAL SAID HE ALSO, AT THIS POINT, COULD ONLY SPEAK IN GENERAL TERMS BUT HE WOULD DISCUSS COMPROMISE WITH DPRK COSPONSORS TO SEEK UNANIMOUS POSITION IN SUPPORT OF AGREEMENT

SECRET

PAGE 01 USUN N 04875 02 OF 02 182150Z

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INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4875

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WTIH ROK SIDE. RAHAL HIMSELF, WITHOUT FACK HAVING MENTIONED THIS ASPECT, VOULUNTEERED THAT A CONSENSUS STATEMENT COULD BE READ OUT BY CHAIRMAN OF FIRST COMMITTEE AND THEN DISCUSSED FURTHER WITH FACK. ALGERIAN SAID THAT HE HAD NOT DOUBY (JE N'EN DOUBT PAS) THAT TEXT FOR CONSENSUS COULD BE AGREED UPON.

13. RAHAL THEN REVIEWED ELEMENTS OF CONSENSUS ON WHICH HE AND FACK AGREED; FIRST, DISSOLUTION OF UNCOUK AS UNCURK RECOMMENDED; SECOND, JULY 4 JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND ITS THREE PRINCIPLES; THIRD, ENCOURAGEMENT OF NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.

14. WHILE APPARENTLY NOT GIVING ITS SAME WEIGHT AS PREVIOUS POINTS, RAHAL SUGGESTED ANOTHER POINT COULD BE NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL KOREAN AFFAIRS, WHICH SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY KOREANS THEMSELVES.

15. RAHAL WENT ON TO SAY THAT DESPITE PROBABLE COMMON GROUND, DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER, EXISTED BETWEEN TWO SIDES. HE SPECIFIED THESE, WITHOUT ELABORATION, AS UN FLAG, UN COMMAND, TROOP WITHDRAWAL, AND QUESTION OF UN MEMBERSHIP FOR TWO KOREAS. RAHAL SAID THAT PRO-ROK RESOLUTION REFERRED TO SECURITY COUNCIL, PROVIDING ANOTHER DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO SIDES. RAHAL SAID HE MUST POINT OUT TO FACK THAT GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS INVOLVED IN ISSUE ALSO, CITING UNITING FOR PEACE RESOLUTION. GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD AT LEATS "EXPRESS A WISH" RAHAL SAID, MAKING CLEAR BY IMPLICATION THAT HE WAS NOT INSISTING THAT GA HAD POWER TO DECIDE MATTER.

16. RAHAL TOLD FACK THAT THESE COMMENTS HAD RESPRESENTED RAHAL'S PERSONAL OPINION ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE PART OF CONSENSUS  
SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 04875 02 OF 02 182150Z

IMPLYING THAT SOME FORMULA WOULD EVENTUALLY BE FOUND TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT POSITIONS (ON UN FALG, UNC AND TROOP WITHDRAWAL) REFLECTED IN DPRK RESOLUTION BUT THAT HE FOR PRESENT WAS CONTENT TO "LET NATURE TAKE ITS COURSE." (IN THESE REMARKS, ACCORDING TO VAN DER KLAUW, RAHAL APPEARED TO EXCLUDE DUAL MEMBERSHIP AS QUESTION THAT WAS DEBATABLE.) THESE DIFFERENCES, RAHAL SUMMARIZED, WERE ONES IN ANY EVENT TO BE RESOLVED ACCORDING TO

WISHED OF TWO KOREAS.

17. RAHAL THEN TOLD FACK THAT HE WOULD MOVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO SPEAK WITH HEAD OF NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION. HE NOTED THAT IN FORMER YEARS IT HAD BEEN VERY DIFFICULT TO MAKE ANY ADJUSTMENT IN HANDLING KOREAN ITEM BECAUSE DPRK NOT REPRESENTED IN NEW YORK AND EXCHANGES WERE HIGHLY CUMBERSOME. HOWEVER, RAHAL CONTINUED, DPRK WAS IN NEW YORK AND THEREFORE "EASIER TO TALK TO ABOUT CONSENSUS." ALSO, NORTH KOREANS, PREVIOUSLY QUITE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH, HAD BEEN MORE "HUMANIZED" BY THEIR CONTACTS IN NEW YORK.

18. IN EXCHANGE FEW MINUTES LATER, RAHAL COMMENTED THAT NORTH KOREANS ARE STILL QUITE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH, RECALLING THAT LAST TIME NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION CALLED ON HIM, IT TOOK DPRK FOUR HOURS TO EXPLAIN POINT.

19. FACK THANKED RAHAL FOR HIS STRAIGHT FORWARD STATEMENT OF POSITION WHICH HE SAID LED FACK TO HOPE THAT CONSENSUS COULD BE REACHED. RAHAL REPLIED EMPHATICALLY THAT CONSENSUS MUST (IL FAUT LE FAIRE) ACCOMPLISHED ADDING THAT IT WOULD BE IN SPIRIT

OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

20. FACK TOLD US RAHAL THAT IMPORTANT STIMULUS TO HIS APPROACH TO RAHAL HAD BEEN HIS CONCERN ABOUT COMPROMISE DRAFTS THAT MIGHT BE PROPOSED BY UN MEMBERS NOT COSPONSORING EITHER RESOLUTION 644 OR 645. FACK SAID THAT HE AND RAHAL SHOULD KEEP THINGS IN OWN HANDS BECAUSE OTHERWISE EVOLUTION OF FIRST COMMITTEE ACTION WOULD BE UNPREDICTABLE.

21. RAHAL REAFFIRMED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO TALK TO NORTH KOREANS, WITH WHOM DISCUSSION WOULD NOT BE EASY TASK. HE ALSO WOULD APPROACH SOME OF COSPONSORS IN SPIRIT OF TALK WITH FACK. RAHAL VOLUNTEERED THAT HE EMPHATICALLY AGREED WITH FACK THAT NO OUTSIDERS SHOULD INTERFERE BECAUSE OUTSIDERS WOULD PRODUCE "MEANINGLESS" TEXT. IN ANY CASE, RAHAL SAID, IF NON-COSPONSORS KNEW WHAT "WE TWO" ARE DISCUSSING, OTHERS' EFFORTS "WILL DISAPPEAR."

SECRET

PAGE 03 USUN N 04875 02 OF 02 182150Z

22. MEETING CONCLUDED WARMLY WITH AGREEMENT THAT TWO AMBASSADORS WOULD BE IN TOUCH AGAIN IN FIRST COMMITTEE (WHICH RESUMES DEBATE ON MONDAY). (END OF DUTCH REPORT OF FACK-RAHAL CONVERSATION.)

23. COMMENT: NEITHER WE NOR DUTCH FEEL THAT RAHAL'S PERFORMANCE OFFERS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT RAHAL WAS OR WAS NOT FULLY PRIMED (OR TO WHAT DEGREE) FOR MEETING. (AS INDICATED BELOW CHINESE APPARENTLY NOT SURE EITHER.) RAHAL DID NOT RESPOND TO FACK'S MILD SUGGESTION THAT MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY SHOULD BE TOUCHED ON IN CONSENSUS. GENERALLY, WE FIND RAHAL'S RECEPTIVITY TO FACK'S PRESENTATION SURPRISINGLY POSITIVE AT THIS STAGE IN LIGHT OF APPARENTLY EXTREME CHINESE CONCERN THAT MEETING WOULD PRODUCE CRITICAL PROBLEMS. RAHAL ASKED NO QUESTION, OR MADE ANY COMMENTS THAT INDICATED SUSPICION THAT PRC BEHIND NETHERLAND APPROACH. WE ARE SOMEWHAT APPRE-

HENSIVE, HOWEVER, RAHAL MIGHT PRESS TO HAVE CONSENSUS TEXT INCLUDE SOME ELEMENTS HE MENTIONED THAT ARE NOT PART OF TEXT AGREED UPON BY US AND PRC. RAHAL, WE, ROK AND OTHER COSPONSORS AGREE THAT RESULT OF MEETING MORE FAVORABLE THAN WE HAD EXPECTED. END COMMENT.

24. IMMEDIATELY UPON HEARING NETHERLANDS' FIVE-MINUTE SUMMARY REPORT OF MEETING, THAYER HAD TELEPHONED CHOU TO CONVEY ESSENTIALS, SAYING WE WOULD PROVIDE FULLER REPORT LATER. CHOU SOUNDED MUCH RELIEVED THAT MEETING HAD GONE AS WELL AS IT DID, ESPECIALLY THAT RAHAL HAD NOT EVIDENCED SUSPICION OF PRC INVOLVEMENT. CHOU SAID THAT AS SOON AS WE HAD HEARD COMPLETE REPORT, HE MOST ANXIOUS TO KNOW PRECISELY WHAT FACK HAD PROPOSED TO RAHAL AS INGREDIENTS OF CONSENSUS TEXT. AN HOUR LATER, IN MID-AFTERNOON, AFTER DUTCH HAD GIVEN US FULL REPORT, WE TELEPHONED CHOU AGAIN TO PROVIDE ANSWER THAT QUESTION AND RESPOND (IN ABBREVIATED AND SANTIZED FORM) TO OTHER QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT ALGERIAN HAD SAID ABOUT ATTITUDE OF NORTH KOREANS AND ABOUT OTHER ASPECTS OF CONVERSATION. CHOU ASKED SEVERAL QUESTIONS THAT MADE CLEAR HIS DESIRE TO GET FIX ON WHEN RAHAL WOULD APPROACH NORTH KOREANS ABOUT CONSENSUS, INDICATING DISAPPOINTMENT (BUT NOT SURPRISE) THAT RAHAL HAD NOT PROMISED FACK TO DO SO THAT AFTERNOON. (CHOU ALSO MADE REMARK REFLECTING IMPATIENCE TO HAVE WHOLE EFFORT COMPLETED, REMINISCENT OF HIS STATEMENT, EARLIER IN WEEK, THAT HE WAS "EXHAUSTED" AND, PREVIOUS EVENING, THAT HIS "HAIR IS FALLING OUT." HE HAD ACCOMPANIED LATTER REMARK WITH SECRET

PAGE 04 USUN N 04875 02 OF 02 182150Z

SUGGESTION THAT TWO OF US, WEEK AFTER CONSENSUS, ADOPTED , QUIETLY GO SOMEPLACE TO DRINK.)

25. CHOU, WITH SOME HEAT, REEMPHASIZED THAT NEITHER ALGERIANS NOR ANYBODY ELSE MUST EVER LEARN OF PRC-US CONTACTS, EXPECIALLY ON NOV 16-17.

CONVERSATION CLOSED WITH AGREEMENT THAT MATTER NOW RESTS PRINCIPALLY WITH DPRK SIDE BUT THAT WE WOULD REPORT ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS, PARTICULARLY RAHAL'S RESPONSE TO FACK.

26. GIVEN REMAINING UNCERTAINTY ABOUT OUTCOME, ROK, AFTER HEARING DUTCH REPORT, CONFIRMED ITS DESIRE TO CONTINUE CONTINGENCY PLANNING. KEY COSPONSORS AGREED THIS WOULD BE WISE AND, FOR THIS PURPOSE SOME ARE SEEKING REACTION OF CAPITALS TO REVISED DRAFT, EXCLUDING REFERENCE TO MEMBERSHIP APPROVED BY KOREANS.

21 KEY COSPONSORS GROUP NOV 17 SETTLED ON MORNING NOV 20 FOR FULL MEETING OF COSPONSORS, AT AUSTRALIAN MISSION. AGENDA WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT DEVELOPS BY THAT TIME. WITH SPEAKERS LIST CLOSING NOON NOV 19, WE AGREED AT SATURDAY MEETING TO SEEK FUTHER INSCRIPTION MONDAY MORNING BY FRIENDLY DELEGATIONS TO ENSURE WE HAVE MAXIMUM TIME (BY KEEPING STATEMENTS GOING THROUGH NOVEMBER 26) FOR COMPLETION OF CONSENSUS EFFORT OR, IF THAT FAILS, TO OBTAIN SUPPORT FOR NEW DRAFT. SCALI

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